

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01  
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15  
USIA-06 ACDA-12 IO-13 /096 W  
-----127764 231358Z /53

R 230834Z FEB 78  
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5511  
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
AMEMBASSY SEOUL  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
USLO PEKING  
CINCPAC HONOLULU

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 2958

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: JA, UR, PEPR  
SUBJECT: SOVIET AMBASSADOR PUSHES GOOD NEIGHBOR TREATY

1. SUMMARY: SOVIET AMBASSADOR POLYANSKIY MET WITH CHIEF CABINET SECRETARY ABE FEBRUARY 20 AND PM FUKUDA FEBRUARY 22 TO URGE GOJ CONSIDERATION OF GOOD NEIGHBOR TREATY WITH SOVIET UNION, AND TO CAUTION IMPLICITLY AGAINST CONCLUSION OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP (PFT) WITH CHINA. POLYANSKIY DELIVERED BREZHNEV LETTER TO FUKUDA MAKING THESE POINTS AND INVITING FUKUDA TO VISIT MOSCOW. PM RESPONDED WITH STANDARD JAPANESE LINE: NO TREATY WITH SOVIETS IN ABSENCE OF NORTHERN TERRITORIES SETTLEMENT. END SUMMARY.

2. ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS (EXTENSIVE AND DETAILED OF BOTH MEETINGS) AND GAIMUSHO SOURCES, POLYANSKIY OPENED FEBRUARY 20  
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MEETING WITH ABE BY COMMENDING TO HIS ATTENTION GOOD NEIGHBOR TREATY DRAFT GIVEN SONODA IN MOSCOW. ABE SAID HE HAD NOT SEEN TREATY, NOTING THAT SINCE IT DID NOT ADDRESS TERRITORIAL ISSUE DRAFT HAD BEEN LOCKED IN FONOFF SAFE UNREAD. ASKED FOR COMMENTS ON ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE OF PROPOSED PFT WITH CHINA, ABE REPLIED THAT CLAUSE WAS NOT DIRECTED AGAINST ANY SPECIFIC COUNTRY. POLYANSKIY ASKED ABE TO ARRANGE MEETING WITH PM TO DELIVER LETTER

FROM BREZHNEV, WHICH, ACCORDING TO ALL PRESS REPORTS, POLYANSKIY SAID WOULD CONTAIN "GOOD NEWS" FOR JAPAN.

3. SAME GROUND WAS PLOWED IN POLYANSKIY FEBRUARY 22 CALL ON PM. ACCORDING TO "GIST" OF CONVERSATION APPEARING IN PRESS, PM FIRST READ LETTER FROM BREZHNEV, PROPOSING CONCLUSION OF JAPAN-SOVIET GOOD NEIGHBOR TREATY, WITH NO REFERENCE TO EXISTENCE OF JAPAN-SOVIET TERRITORIAL DISPUTE. LETTER DID NOT DIRECTLY ADDRESS QUESTION OF PFT BETWEEN JAPAN AND CHINA, BUT DID WARN OF "FORCES" TRYING TO OBSTRUCT JAPAN-SOVIET RELATIONS. FINALLY, LETTER INVITED FUKUDA TO VISIT MOSCOW.

4. PM REPORTEDLY TOOK NOTE OF BREZHNEV INVITATION BUT REMINDED POLYANSKIY THAT THERE WAS LONG-STANDING UNFULFILLED JAPANESE INVITATION TO SOVIET LEADERS TO VISIT TOKYO. FUKUDA TOLD POLYANSKIY IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO NEGOTIATE GOOD NEIGHBOR TREATY WITHOUT SETTLING NORTHERN TERRITORY ISSUE AS REFERRED TO IN 1973 TANAKA-BREZHNEV JOINT COMMUNIQUE. POLYANSKIY SUGGESTED THAT JAPAN SIDE AT LEAST STUDY DRAFT TREATY, WHICH WOULD NOT PRECLUDE ULTIMATE NEGOTIATION OF PEACE TREATY, TO WHICH PM REPORTEDLY AGAIN REPLIED TERRITORIAL QUESTION HAD TO BE RESOLVED FIRST.

5. POLYANSKIY CALLS WERE COVERED EXTENSIVELY IN PRESS, WITH VERY COMPLETE SUMMARIES OF BOTH CONVERSATIONS APPEARING IN SEVERAL PAPERS. SOME JOURNALISTIC LICENSE WAS ALSO EVIDENT -- FOR  
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EXAMPLE, ONE PAPER CLAIMED THAT SMALL EARTHQUAKE WHICH STRUCK TOKYO FEBRUARY 20 OCCURRED JUST AS POLYANSKIY ASKED ABE IF HE HAD READ GOOD NEIGHBOR TREATY. GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS WERE DESCRIBED AS "DUMBFOUNDED" AND "DISILLUSIONED" AT BEING UNABLE TO DISCERN PROMISED "GOOD NEWS" IN BREZHNEV LETTER.

6. IN CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFF, TOGO (DIRECTOR, FIRST EAST EUROPEAN DIVISION) DESCRIBED POLYANSKIY EFFORT AS TOTALLY PREDICTABLE UNDER CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES. TOGO THOUGHT SOVIETS EXPECTED EARLY PROGRESS IN JAPAN-CHINA NEGOTIATIONS ON PFT, WITH POLYANSKIY THEREFORE INSTRUCTED TO STEP-UP REPRESENTATIONS. EXPRESSING A VIEW HE HAS HELD FOR SOME TIME, TOGO SAID HE THOUGHT SOVIETS DID NOT EXPECT TO FORESTALL PFT AT THIS POINT, BUT WERE INSTEAD ATTEMPTING TO SET STAGE FOR POST-PFT SITUATION, IN WHICH THEY WOULD URGE JAPAN TO CONCLUDE GOOD NEIGHBOR TREATY IN ORDER TO RESTORE "BALANCE" IN ITS RELATIONS WITH MAJOR COMMUNIST NEIGHBORS. (THIS INTERPRETATION, DESCRIBED AS "FONMIN ANALYSIS," WAS ALSO CARRIED IN SEVERAL NEWSPAPERS.)  
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## Message Attributes

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**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014